CHAPTER 3

THE FIELD AREA

3.1 Introduction

For the field study, we have selected the handloom industry in Nadia district. The district Nadia is located in the heart of the Bengal delta bounded by the Ganga, viz, the Bhagirathi on the west and the east by Padma running into the Meghna estuary. The entire district lies in the alluvial plain of the Ganga and its tributaries. The district has an area of 3927 sq. kms. The district lies between 22°53' and 24°11' north latitudes and 88°09' and 88°48' of east longitudes. The district is bounded on the north and north-west by the district of Murshidabad, the district Kusthia and Rajshahi of Bangladesh have bounded the east and north-east of the district, the river Bhagirathi forms the western boundary except for a small strip of land around Nabadwip town. In the south and south-west the district is bounded by the district of North Twenty-Four Parganas. The district is irregular in shape from north to south.

Handloom industry in Nadia district is largely concentrated in the southern part of the district. To be more specific the activities centreing the handloom sector are largely concentrated in Nabadwip and Santipur region of the district (see Map in Appendix 3.2).

Nabadwip, the centre of Hindu pilgrimage is a traditional centre of trade and commerce. The market for yarn and handloom products has also found a natural centre in Nabadwip. The hinterland of Nabadwip, however, contains a part of Barddhaman district in which the handloom industry has developed since independence. Santipur, on the other hand, is very old centre of handloom activities. In fact, as the history of handloom industry of Nadia district indicates, Santipur is one of the few centres in India which could somewhat withstand the de-industrialisation policy of the British Government. In fact, the muslin cloth had still been manufactured in Santipur even at the beginning of the present century. In the present day muslin is no longer produced in Santipur. But then, Santipur is still famous for the handloom products because of its thin texture and embroidered and flowered border work.

In this chapter, We draw an outline of the economy of Nadia district and the handloom
industry of this district as well as that of the Barddhaman district that provides the hinterland of Nabadwip, the major trade centre in handloom in the district. The chapter will be concluded with the discussion on why we have selected the Nadia district for field study.

The inclusion of a part of Barddhaman in the study is explained by the following fact. After the partition of Bengal in 1947, a section of weavers of East Bengal (now Bangladesh) migrated to West Bengal (in India). A portion of the immigrant weavers settled at Nabadwip and its surrounding areas, namely, Samudragarh, Dhatigram, Agradeep, Purbasthali, etc. that are included in the territory of Barddhaman district (see Map in Appendix 3.2). The handloom industry of the nearby areas are intimately associated with the yarn and cloth market of Nabadwip trading centre. So the study of Nabadwip zone would remain incomplete if one ignores the history of handloom industry of Barddhaman district. The focus, however, is on Nadia.

3.2 An Outline of the Economy of Nadia
3.2.1. The Profile of the District

The density of population per sq. km. in the district is 981 which is higher than the state average (767 per sq. km. – the highest among the Indian states). The percentage of urban population to total population in Nadia is 22.63 which is somewhat lower than the state average (27.48 per cent). The percentage of scheduled caste population in the district (29.01) is higher than state average (26.63 per cent); the percentage of scheduled tribe population in the state, (2.35) on the other hand is lower than the state average (5.59).

The percentage of cultivated area to total area in the district is quite high – 77.68 per cent (the third in the state). The land area of the district is 391510 hectares of which the area of non-cultivation is 22.3 per cent. The net sown area is 76.69 per cent of the total area of the district. The district has intense agricultural practices particularly after the introduction of summer crop, thanks to the Green Revolution technology. The production of cereals in the state had increased rapidly since 1971-72, the year of introduction of Green Revolution technology. The index number of agricultural production in Nadia (1971-72 = 100) is 58.09 in 1995-96. The productivity has also doubled during this period.

The number of registered factories in Nadia district is 159 in which the number of workers employed daily had been 13,219. A small percentage of the working force in Nadia had been engaged in the organised sector industries. Household industries and construction, trade and commerce, transport, storage and communication and other service had been the source of employment for 8,63,882 rural and 2,35,949 urban main workers of the district. In the next section we discuss the occupational distribution of the population in Nadia in some details.
According to the latest (1991) Census, the literacy rate of the district is 52.53 per cent, the female literacy rate being 44.42 per cent, somewhat lower than the stage average of literacy rate. There are 16 family welfare centres (as in 1996) and 185 medical institutions with 5159 beds (the total number of beds in medical institutions in West Bengal is 66697). The average population per bank office (commercial bank) in Nadia is 22 thousand (the state average is 17 thousand) in 1996. The number of post offices per 1 lakh population had been 10 (in 1996). The total road length maintained by the public works department in the district is 974 Km., the most of which is surfaced. Unsurfaced roads exist mainly in non-public works department areas. These are usually maintained by the local self-government organisations, i.e., 187 Gram Panchayats, 17 Panchayat Samities and by the Zilla Parisad situated in Krishnanagar, the district head quarter. The road condition in non-PWD (Public Works Department) areas is bad. This is true particularly in Nabadwip and Santipur region, as we gathered during the field survey.

3.2.2 Occupational Distribution of the Population
As per Census 1991, the total population of the district is 38,52,097 of which 28.81 per cent is main workers and 0.53 per cent is marginal workers. The percentage of non-workers is 70.66.1 The break-up of main workers is as follows : (i) cultivators 29.34 per cent; (ii) agricultural labourers 27.48 per cent; (iii) manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs in household industry 7.35 per cent; (iv) manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs in other than household industry 9.81 per cent; (v) livestock, forestry, hunting, fishing, plantations, orchards and allied activities 1.66 per cent; construction 1.36 per cent; and (vi) other service workers including trade & commerce, transport, storage, banking, civil, educational service, etc. 22.94 per cent.

Nadia is essentially an agricultural district. According to 1991 Census 56.82 per cent of the total working population of the district is engaged in agricultural pursuits, the West Bengal average being 52.96 per cent. The industries which are included in category (iii) and (iv) are handloom weaving, dyeing, (i.e., dyeing of yarn for weaving), carpentry, bidi rolling, pottery manufacturing, blacksmithy, tailoring, etc. The manufacturing of the above items both in household and non-household units have mainly developed at Santipur, Chakdaha,

1. As per Census 1991, the main workers are those who had worked for the major part of the year preceding the date of enumeration, i.e., those who were engaged in any economically productive activity for 183 days. Marginal workers are those who worked any time at all in the year preceding the date of enumeration but did not work for the major part of the year, i.e., those who worked for less than 183 days. Non-workers are those who did not work any time at all in the year preceding the date of enumeration. Non-workers may be those performing household duties, students, dependents, retired persons or rentiers, beggers, inmates of institutions like convicts in jail or inmates of penal, mental or charitable institutions, etc. and other non-workers who do not come under the category of the preceding types of non-workers.
Ranaghat, Krishnanagar and Nabadwip. The majority of main workers included in category (iii) and (iv) in this district are engaged in handloom weaving. The handloom weaving in the district thus occupies an important place of employment. In fact, as the census data indicate, in some areas, it is the second important source of livelihood for the working population of the district—its place is only next to agriculture.

According to 1981 Census, 60.09 per cent of the main workers was engaged in agricultural pursuits (cultivators 31.38 per cent and agricultural labourers 28.71 per cent). In 1991, it has reduced to 56.82 per cent. So it appears that the dependence on agriculture has declined. On the other hand, the proportion of main workers in the category of household industries, non-household industries and other services has increased during the same period. According to 1981 Census, the percentage of main workers engaged in household industries and non-household industries & other services was 5.77 per cent and 34.14 per cent respectively. In 1991, it has increased to 7.35 per cent and 35.83 per cent respectively. Therefore it appears that between the two census periods the power of absorption of labour force has declined in agriculture. And the household industries, non-household industries and other services have gained importance as the sources of employment.

3.2.3 Non-household and Household Industries

There is no mining and heavy industry in the district, but a few large scale industries have been set up in the district. In fact, with the development of Kalyani township, the various types of new industries have since come up. The manufacturing of plant & machinery required in tea industries, manufacturing of cycle parts, production of yarns, re-rolling of steel rods, angles and fabrication of steel materials, TV manufacturing — these are some of the industries found in the district. The Kalyani Spinning Mill is a state undertaking which is located at Kalyani and is engaged in the production of cotton yarns. There are thus a few industry in this district, but these industries have hardly been able to change the basic character of the district which remains agriculture-based with household industry serving as an important source of livelihood for the workforce.

Quite a good number of units in the small-scale sector are functioning in this district. These industries, which are mostly dependent upon power, are located in urban and semi-urban areas. With handloom industry, thanks to the government policy of encouraging the powerloom in the small scale, there has developed powerloom in some pockets of the district. The powerloom units are usually found in Ranaghat, Santipur, Phulia and Birmagar. As stated earlier, the cotton weaving is a very important industry in the district and Santipur and Nabadwip are the most important centres of handloom industry. The speciality of Santipur cloth lies in its weaving texture and embroideries. Among other
industries, brass and bell-metal pottery, mat, bricks, flour & rice mill, carpentry and saw mill, clay modelling are important. The clay dolls and models of Krishnanagar, viz. cloves, human figures depict finest workmanship of the local artisans. These specimens have a ready market not only within the country but in the foreign countries as well.

3.2.4 Finance, Trade and Commerce

According to Nadia District Gazetteer, At the middle of this century the district started to enjoy the facilities of joint stock banks. The State Bank of India opened its first branch at Krishnanagar on 2nd December, 1952 (West Bengal District Gazetteers, Nadia, 1978 : 179). The State Bank of India now has 6 branches in the district. The United Bank of India and Bank of India has 15 and 2 branches respectively in different areas of the district. The Life Insurance Corporation of India has three units, one each at Kalyani, Krishnanagar and Nabadwip.

The indigenous bankers suffered a serious set-back following the rise of agency houses and joint stock companies at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Even then, a significant portion of agriculturists of this district obtained their finance from local mahajans (indigenous bankers), merchants dealing with special crops and landlord who had got tejarati (money lending) business. The first two sources still play the most important part in agricultural finance. From the field area of the district it is perceived that the weavers also, for their finance, depend more on local mahajans than on institutional finance.

In the district, Ranaghat is a very important seat of commerce. Ranaghat itself carries a large river traffic. Main export items in Nadia is jute which grows mainly in Ranaghat subdivision. Besides gram and pulses, vegetables, potatoes and wheat are exported to Calcutta market and also to other districts. Handloom cloths are also exported from the district. This is exported mainly to Calcutta from where it gets a national market. As stated earlier, Nabadwip is a big trading centre of handloom cloths and yarn. 'Nabadwip Tant Kapar Hat' occupies an important place in West Bengal for wholesale transaction of handloom cloths.

3.3 History of Weaving Industry of Nadia District

3.3.1 Before Forties

The weaving industry in Nadia district was very prosperous towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time Santipur was specially famous for cotton weaving. There were 77 Hindu castes in Nadia (Hunter 1973, Vol 11 : 46-49). Among them 'Tanti' and 'Jogi' were weavers and the 'Jola', a Muhammedan community, was also weaver. Owing to the importance of Santipur as a trading centre in handloom products in those days, a Resident's headquarters under the East India Company
was established there. According to Nadia District Gazetteer, *During the first few years of the nineteenth century, the company purchased here £ 1,50,000 worth of cotton cloths annually. This industry was on the decline by 1813 due to import of cheaper piece goods from Manchester in the Indian market and in 1825 it received a severe set-back due to the introduction of British yarn which was ultimately responsible for the complete extinction of country yarn in later years.* (West Bengal District Gazetteers, Nadia, 1978 : 179). The handloom industry declined at that time due to the de-industrialisation policy of the British Government.²

The number of weavers gradually decreased as many of them, finding the business unprofitable took to the other professions. As per Census 1872, the weaving population was only 13,680 in numbers, besides 273 jute weavers. Even then, in 1898 in almost all villages in this district there were a few families of Tanties and Jolas who used to weave coarse cloth for the use of cultivators and the poor section of the village community. However, their importance was fast declining. Several villages which had a reputation for doing business in weaving, such as, Chakdaha, Tehatta, Dumurdaha and Dagalbi, lost their importance with the decline of the weaving industry, though in some of these places the profession was still existing. Upto the beginning of the present century, Santipur was the only place where fine muslin was manufactured. Apart from the muslin there was a special local product known as the Santipur cloth. The Santipur cloth was specially admired for its thin texture, and embroidered and flowered border work. In spite of the adverse government policy, the Santipur cloth, however, survived for a long time – longer than muslin cloth particularly because the Bengal elite liked this cloth.

According to a survey conducted by the Directorate of Industries, Bengal in 1940 it was observed that Santipur was probably the only municipal area in undivided Bengal where extensive handloom industries existed even after de-industrialisation. At that time, out of a total of about 27,000 persons in the town as many as 10,000 were reported to be members of weaving families. That year, out of a total of 9,996 weavers in the whole undivided district of Nadia as many as 4,000 were concentrated in Santipur town (West Bengal District Gazetteers, Nadia, 1978 : 159-60).

The survival of Santipur is partly due to a technological innovation — the jacquard loom. The jacquard looms were introduced in the area in the late-twenties of this century and *it is reported that one Bhupati Charan Pramanick introduced it* (Ibid : 162). The handloom industry of this place adapted itself quickly to changing patterns of production and markets through the extensive use of jacquard machines that reduced cost. This in its turn saved the

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² See sub-section 2.1.1 of Chapter 2 of the text in which it has been discussed in detail.
industry at Santipur from decaying. Indeed, the weavers were and are still very much alive to changes in variation and design.

3.3.2 Forties and Onwards

By the forties, some technological changes have taken place in the handloom industry in respect of weaving and preparatory process. Primitive and throw-shuttle looms have been converted into fly-shuttle looms and semi-automatic looms to raise production per loom and for the purpose of standard and quality production. For quick preparatory work, the warping in drum has been introduced eliminating the primitive 'hat tana' process and thereby lowering the labour charges. Before the introduction of jacquards, the weavers used to produce designs by hand only (hate tola buti) in ordinary throw-shuttle looms as embroidery work. During this period (period of throw-shuttle looms), the weavers were mostly designers themselves. This position has changed by now. At present, the designs are on punched card set on jacquard machine and the weaver is not necessarily a designer himself. The designs are being evolved as a separate job and the weavers mostly start with designs converted on punched cards. This change has also been found in our field area. There are, however, some weavers who are also good designers themselves.

The jacquard looms and dobby looms as well as ordinary fly-shuttle looms (Thakthaki) and semi-automatic looms (Chittaranjan) can still be seen side by side at different weaving centres of the district. Whereas the jacquards and dobby looms are specialised in designing sarees, the other looms still weave dure (matha saree),

3. coarse saree, lungi,

4. dhuti

5. gamcha.

The units of this industry can be found in different villages and municipal areas under Sadar and Ranaghat sub-divisions. Nabadwip belongs to Sadar sub-division and Santipur to Ranaghat sub-division.

After the partition of Bengal in 1947, many weaver families of East Bengal (now Bangladesh) migrated to India and settled in different pockets of the district. The fact was recorded in the District Gazetteer too. It records: Since independence, the district has attracted expert immigrant weaving families from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) who are now settled in areas like Phulia, Taherpur, Bimagar, Badkulla and Ranaghat, swelling the number of Santipur mahajans and weavers (West Bengal District Gazetteers, Nadia,

3. Matha Saree is a type of ordinary saree in which design is not weaved.
4. Lungi is a wearable cloth for gents. A man feels comfort wearing the cloth in tropical climate.
5. Dhuti is also a cloth for gents. It is bigger than lungi in length. The colour of dhuti is white with a thin deep colour at the border.
6. Gamcha is a piece of cloth made out of coarse yarn. It is used to suck the wettish body of one after bathing or washing the hands and mouth.
1978: 160). The long tradition of handloom weaving of the district was the reason for their settlement in this district. (We have found also in our survey that many weaver families, namely, Basak, Nath and Debnath have migrated to this district from Bangladesh during the period from forties to sixties). The immigrant weavers have adjusted themselves with the local weaving of the district due to adaptive technology of handloom. The local weaving texture, too, has been enriched by their skill and knowledge.

3.4 Handloom Industry – The Present Status

According to a report of the Handloom Development Office, Nabadwip (1995-96), at present there are 70336 weavers in this district and most of them are highly skilled and have been engaged in the production of traditional Tangail Sarees (Silk & Cotton), Zamdni Sarees (Silk & Cotton), Santipuri Sarees (Cotton), running length for dress materials and other value added fabrics. Semi-skilled weavers of this district are engaged in the production of cotton sarees of medium counts, Lungi, Polyester Shirting, Janata cloth, etc.

The production in largely organised in the private sector, with a very little role of the co-operative sector.

According to Handloom Development Office, Nabadwip (1995-96), there are 432 registered co-operatives in the district, of which only 175 are active societies and the rest remains inactive. According to knowledgeable sources, the inefficiency, selfishness and corruption in the management are primarily responsible for the failure of major co-operatives. The apex bodies of the co-operatives were assigned to marketise the produce of the primary co-operatives. Tantuja, Tantusri and Manjusha took the initiatives in this regard. But their initiatives did not persist for a long time. Often they failed to supply the yarn also, even they failed to pay their dues in time to the primary co-operatives. The co-operatives thus largely failed in the district, except in some pockets in Fulia where the co-operatives seemed to play a powerful role during the time of this survey. The failure of co-operative has strengthened the hands of merchants and usurers in the handloom industry of the district.

8. Saree is a type of garment used by the Indian women. Tangail is a type of saree which contains designs at the border of two sides. The design is now weaved by the Jacquard machine. This saree weaving originated in Tangail district (now at Bangladesh).
9. Jamdani is another type of saree in which designs (buti design) are weaved by hand only – a special weaving texture. The origin of the weaving texture of this saree was in Dhaka district (now at Bangladesh).
10. Santipuri saree involves a special type of design.
11. Recently, the Government of India has closed the Janata Cloth Scheme.
3.5. Handloom Weaving of Barddhaman District

The handloom weaving is an important cottage industry of this district since nineteenth century. At the earlier time, silk sarees and dhuties were largely manufactured at Memari and Radhakantapur in the Barddhaman sub-division, and also in the Bud-Bud and Katwa subdivisions. Weavers were numerous throughout the district. Besides meeting the local demands, they used to supply cloths to other parts of the country. At that time, according to Census Report 1872, there were 56,138 weaving families in the district belonging to Tanti, Dhal, Kapali, Jogi & Patua and Sukli & Hansi castes.12 They used to weave silk, cotton, jute and wool.

At the end of nineteenth century the district was an important centre for silk cloth weaving, particularly for garad and tussar. Barddhaman District Gazetteer describes : in 1892, E.W. Collins reported that at Memari and Radhakantapur there were some 200 families of silk weavers who produced annually about Rs. 35,000 worth of silk known as 'garad'. The chief seat of tussar silk industry was Mankar where 460 families were engaged in its production. Barddhaman's total production of tussar was estimated at 3,00,000 yards valued at Rs. 1,25,000 (West Bengal District Gazetteers, Barddhaman, 1994:203).

At present handloom weaving is mainly located at Katwa, the Katwa Industrial Centre being the main handloom centre of the district. Apart from Katwa, after the partition of Bengal, the handloom industry has also gradually developed in some pockets of Kalna and Purbasthali subdivision (namely, Agradeep, Srirampore, Purbasthali, Samudragarh, Dhatrigram and Kalna) of the district. This was largely due to the migration of a section of weavers, namely, Basak and Debnath by caste, in this region from East Bengal (now Bangladesh). They are skilled weavers.

According to Census 1991, the total number of main workers in Kalna (combining Kalna I and Kalna II) and Purbasthali (combining Purbasthali I and Purbasthali II) are 98,152 and 96,473 respectively. In Kalna, 12.98 per cent of the main workers is engaged in manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs in household and non-household industry. In Purbasthali, 25.5 per cent of the main workers is engaged in the same activities. The majority of the main workers who are engaged in the household and non-household industries in these areas, are associated with the handloom industry.

3.6. The Field Area

The field survey for the present study had been located in Nabadwip and Santipur region. From the administrative point of view, Nabadwip belongs to the district of Nadia. As a

centre for weaving activities, Nabadwip, however, depends on the vast hinterland most of which belongs to the Nadia district itself. One cannot understand the socio-economic reality of Santipur and Nabadwip unless one considers the socio-economic reality of Nadia. But the study of Nabadwip zone would remain incomplete without the study of the nearby areas of Nabadwip, such as, Samudragarh, Dhatigram or Agradeep that belongs to the administrative territory of Barddhaman district (see Map in Appendix 3.3). While introducing the field area, we therefore found it prudent to describe the status of handloom weaving in the adjacent region of Barddhaman district as well. But then, in order to know the field area, one must know the core area of the field. A brief description of Nabadwip and Santipur region is, therefore, necessary.

3.6.1. The Profile of Nabadwip Region

According to Census 1991, the total population of the Nabadwip Community Development Block is 1,04,533. The proportion of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population to the total population is 15.41 per cent and 0.90 per cent respectively. The literacy rate of the region is 36.72 per cent — male 23.38 per cent and female 13.34 per cent. The working classification of the total population of the block is: main workers 30.63 per cent, marginal workers 1.02 per cent and non-workers 68.35 per cent.

Out of the total 32,020 main workers, 19.54 per cent are cultivators and 17.39 per cent are agricultural labourers. The percentage of main workers engaged in manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs in household and non-household industry are 12.06 and 29.19 respectively. And the rest, i.e., 21.82 per cent is engaged in other services like construction, trade, commerce, transport, forestry, fishing, etc. It appears that at Nabadwip the combined employment in household and non-household industries is more (41.25 per cent) than the employment in agriculture (36.93 per cent). This is largely due to the development of the handloom sector in this region.

3.6.2 The Profile of Santipur region

As per Census 1991, the total population of Santipur Community Development Block is 1,67,897 of which 38.01 per cent is scheduled castes and 3.64 per cent is scheduled tribes. Of the total population, 39.66 per cent is literate — male 24.49 per cent and female 15.17 per cent. The percentage of main workers, marginal workers and non-workers among the total population are 32.49 per cent, 0.85 per cent and 66.65 per cent respectively. The number of main workers at Santipur is 54,553 of which 20.70 per cent is cultivators and 25.90 per cent is agricultural labourers. The percentage of main workers engaged in manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs in household industry and non-household industry are 25.90 and 12.06 respectively. The percentage of workers engaged in other activities like constructions, trade, transport, livestock, forestry, fishing, etc. are 15.44 per cent.
The feature which draws special attention is the involvement of female labourers in household industry in this region. There are 14,141 main workers in household industry in the region of which 21.74 per cent is female workers. This is largely due to the involvement of the female in the handloom sector.

3.7 Why Nadia District

We selected this district mainly for three reasons. Firstly, the district has a long tradition of handloom weaving. The handloom in this district has its origin in the pre-colonial days and it could withstand the British policy of de-industrialisation. In independent India, the district occupies a very important place in the field of handloom weaving in the state of West Bengal. Presently the handloom industry is mainly located at Santipur, Phulia, Ranaghat, Nabadwip and Chakdaha of the district.

Secondly, after the partition of Bengal in 1947, many weaver families, namely, Nath, Debnath and Basak migrated to India from East Bengal (now Bangladesh) and settled in different pockets of this district. They settled also at Samudragarh, Dhatigram, Purbasthali and other places of Bardhaman district and these places are adjacent to Nabadwip of Nadia. These weavers started weaving of Jamdani and Tangail sarees in which they had traditional skill. Nadia is the district and Nabadwip is the region which experienced interaction between the traditional skill and the elements of traditional labour relations of the locality with those of another tradition, equally old with elements of pre-capitalism but transplanted in an alien locality, following the partition of Bengal. A field area with this feature provides a very good opportunity to study the ‘skilling’ and ‘deskilling’ process in a transitional society.

Thirdly, by now, Nabadwip-based handloom market is supposed to be one of the biggest in West Bengal. Wholesale transactions of handloom cloths take place in hat.13 Hat takes place generally once or twice in a week. Nabadwip Tant Kapar Hat at Nabadwip is remarkable for wholesale transaction. According to a publication of Directorate of Handlooms & Textiles, Transaction in a week of this hat is estimated to be Rs. one crore. There are four hats in Santipur zone. They are situated at Sutragarh, Darappur, Ramnagar and Chakdaha Rail Bazar. Total weekly transaction of these four hats is estimated to be Rs. 2.20 crores. The co-operatives marketise about 50 per cent of their cloths through government marketing agencies such as ‘Tantuja’, ‘Tantushree’, ‘Manjusha’, etc. and 50 per cent through hats.14 This market helps one study the role of weavers in the market and the control of mahajans over that market.

13. Hat is a place where buyers and sellers meet at a particular time of the week at a particular place for the purchase and sale of commodities. Hat generally takes place once or twice in a week.
14. The publication is in Bengali language, namely, Nadia Zilla Tant Shilpa Nibir Prachar Avijan, 1989 (Drive at extensive publicity for handloom industry of Nadia district, 1989), Government of West Bengal.
Field Area:
Nabadwip Region
Santipur Region


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